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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews the literature on effective schools from the rural teacher's viewpoint. While research on rural education has frequently focused on economic and structural issues, the teacher is the key to the quality of rural education. However, rural teachers encounter more stressful teaching conditions than urban or suburban teachers, leading to a higher attrition rate. The most significant teacher attribute in effective schools is a sense of teacher efficacy related to student achievement. Schools that nurture this sense of efficacy involve teachers in the planning process, foster faculty openness and collaborative behavior, have clear expectations for teachers and students, recognize teacher and student achievements, and encourage teachers' professional growth, entrepreneurial skills, and commitment to the community. Educators attempting to achieve educational reforms in rural settings face inherent resistance to change in education systems, complicated by the economic deficiencies found in most rural areas. The report discusses emerging trends in educator preparation and certification, conditions for professional practice, and the direction of effective school research. It evaluates these trends as they relate to effective school findings and the special needs of rural schools. Contains 87 references. (SV)

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SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS: THE TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

Teachers confront conditions in schools which have a direct impact on classroom instruction. These conditions are directly related to attrition among teachers, the 'burnout' among teachers or the achievement of school reform. The school effectiveness literature identifies conditions which nurture instructional effectiveness. These conditions empower teachers, thus, generating a sense of efficacy and self worth among teachers. These conditions ensure teacher development and commitment. The creation of these conditions for professional practice are essential to school reform in rural settings.

The reform movement in education took on new significance with the release of the report, Time for Results, by the National Governors' Association (1986). The report represented the governors' public commitment to educational reform. The issues identified by the governors are magnified when our attention is shifted from schools in general to small or rural schools. The National Governors' Association has taken the position "...schools that don't make the grade should be declared operationally bankrupt, taken over by the states, and reorganized." (Alexander, 1986, p. 202). The response of the governors to educational reform and improvement is based upon structural and economic dimensions and not what is known about school effectiveness. Stephens (1986) argued given the mixed benefits of reorganization efforts in the past, the fact there are effective schools in rural settings, and the implications for the quality of life in rural communities that "...another round of massive and arbitrary school reorganization must be resisted." (p. 31) However, rural populations have traditionally been ignored by policymakers and educators because of their political invisibility (Massey & Crosby, 1984). Current information systems used by policymakers are not even conscious of the rural-urban differences (Gilford, Nelson, & Ingram, 1981) or ignore small schools (Minter, 1980). The image of education in rural settings which exists is either based upon nostalgia (Gulliford, 1984) or on the belief that students in rural settings are 'at risk' because of inadequate educational

opportunities (Elliott, 1987; Fuller, 1982). Although the economic and structural dimensions are not to be dismissed (Good & Brophy, 1986) the issue is the development of effective schools for rural settings. Recent research suggests that effective schools possess unique characteristics. It is this knowledge of effective schools which should guide the deliberations of policymakers and not just the structural and economic issues.

The intent of this paper is to examine the literature on effective schools from the perspective of the teacher. It is the teacher who is essential to achieving effective schools. What are the implications of the effective school research for creating conditions for professional practice? For as Sykes (1983) stated if reform is to occur that to transform "...schools into 'good work' places may be the best hope of all, but the most elusive goal for public policy." (p. 588) The concepts to guide the transformation of schools into "good work" places for teachers may be found, in part, in the effective schools literature.

EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS

The literature on effective schools (Corocaran & Wilson, 1985; Lane & Walberg, 1987; Purkey & Smith, 1983) identified numerous characteristics of effective schools. Purkey and Smith (1983) in a comprehensive review of the literature identified the following two sets of variables related to school effectiveness:

Organization and Structural Characteristics

a. School-site management: The leadership and staff of a school need considerable autonomy in responding to issues.

b. Instructional leadership: There needs to be leadership to initiate and maintain improvements in schools.

c. Staff stability: The frequent transfer of staff can be destructive and retard progress once a school achieves success. Stability nurtures the development "...of a coherent and ongoing school personality." (p. 443)

d. Curriculum articulation and organization: The acquisition of basic and complex skills are learned by elementary school students if the curriculum provides time and coordinates instruction. At the secondary level a curriculum should be structured and purposeful. If a student is expected to learn English, science, and mathematics than they have to take those courses and not electives.

e. Schoolwide staff development: Programs that are directly related to the instructional program with the intent of developing new skills and knowledge for the entire school are characteristic of effective schools. The programs are based on the expressed needs of the faculty and incremental in nature.

f. Parental involvement and support: The evidence was not substantial to support the notion of the parents need to be aware of school goals and student responsibilities yet the authors identified this as a characteristic.

g. Schoolwide recognition of academic success: The school publicly acknowledged the importance academic achievements through its ceremonies, symbols, and norms.

h. Maximized learning time: Instructional time was free of interruptions, actively involved students in learning, and allocated time to academic subjects.

i. District support: The district's role was "...best conceived as guiding and helping." support the program of the school.

Process Characteristics:

j. Collaborative planning and collegial relationships: Change was initiated through collaborative planning among teachers and administrators within the building. Such collaboration lead to a sense of collegiality and sharing of ideas. A sense of unity and purpose evolved from collaboration.

k. Sense of community: A sense of community among the staff which reduced isolation and alienation. This sense of community was evident in the rituals, symbols, and ceremonies.

l. Clear goals and high expectations: There was a consensus on goals, a continual monitoring, and shared expectations to work and achieve them.

m. Order and discipline: Clear, reasonable, and consistent but fairly enforced rules reduce behavioral problems and communicate the purpose of the school.

Although the characteristics identified by Purkey and Smith (1983) were largely derived from research focusing on effective schools located in urban or suburban settings Stephens (1986) noted their similarity with the frequently cited strengths of "good" schools in rural settings. Even recognizing the similarities the need to study effective schools in rural settings was identified as a major issue in education (Helge, 1986; National Rural Education Association, 1986; Stephens, 1986). Both the quantity and the quality of the research focused on education in rural settings was seriously questioned (Stephens, 1985). The literature that does exist focuses more upon structural issues and not upon effective practices. While the debate about school consolidation, largely a structural and economic issue, continues to rage few have focused on

effective practices in schools which serve students in rural settings. The initial attempts by a few (Carlson & Matthes, 1986, 1987; Nachtigal, 1982; Scher, 1977) to describe efforts to create effective schools in rural settings are ignored by policy-makers and educators.

SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS AND THE TEACHER

Cohen (1983) stated that the research on effective schools might be organized around the following characteristics:

a. Classroom teaching: Most variance in student achievement occurs within schools. To focus exclusively on average differences between schools assumes that all students are exposed to same educational opportunities and ignores the effects of the classroom. Effective classroom teaching is a major aspect of effective schools.

b. Coordination and management of instruction: The goals, instructional practices, and measures of student performance are coordinated within a school.

c. Shared values and culture in the school: The teachers and students developed a sense of shared values which are embedded in the culture of the school.

An essential element in effective schools is the teacher. Although Cohen (1983) stressed the importance of the principal in achieving school effectiveness the

importance of what occurs in the domain of teacher, the classroom, was considered. Others (Lightfoot, 1983; Sizer, 1984) have also noted that the teacher is central to the development of effective schools. Scher (1983) stated:

> Neglecting teachers in an examination of rural education is like discussing rural health care and overlooking doctors or discussing agriculture and ignoring farmers. Delivery systems are important, support systems can be vital, and national policies often have a major impact. Yet people actually have to make the delivery system work, and in rural education these people are the local teachers. Thus the rural teacher can properly be viewed as the key to the quality of rural education. (p. 260).

Conditions for Professional Practice

It is the conditions that enable teachers to teach and students to learn which must be considered in depth. This is not to negate the importance of other dimensions of effective schools but to emphasize the importance of creating conditions for teachers to practice their profession. McLaughlin, Pfeifer, Swanson-Owens, and Yee (1986) concluded that "The conditions under which teachers work are often set up in such a way as to deny teachers a sense of efficacy, success, and self worth." (p. 422) Sykes (1983) stressed the need to change the conditions in schools so that they are

... hospitable to career-oriented professionals, more intellectually stimulating, and more encouraging of natural engagement on matters of practice. (p. 585)

What are the conditions for professional practice in schools located in rural settings? Muss and Stonehocker (1979) reported teachers in rural settings encounter the following conditions:

a. Teachers had 3-5 different lesson preparations daily.
b. Teachers typically must teach a class or two in which they are not adequately prepared.
c. Teachers are expected to take on extra-curricular duties.
d. Selected classes (e.g. home economics, physical education) might be composed of students from 2 to 3 different grade levels.
e. Supplies are low because of a lack of funds.
f. Teacher salaries are low.
g. Teachers are less apt to be involved in professional development programs or graduate studies.

Given these conditions and the concern expressed in the literature one wonders why teachers would choose to teach in rural settings. Matthes and Carlson (1986) inferred from the results of a study comparing reasons first year teachers selected rural, suburban or urban schools that:

> the general impression from the differences identified that those accepting teaching positions in rural school districts were more concerned about settling in to the community, whereas their counterparts in suburban and urban settings seem to be more concerned about their "professional" future. Teachers in urban/suburban settings were more concerned about continual personal and professional growth through cultural and continuing education opportunities. (p. 26)

What happens to teachers confronted with these conditions? The retention of qualified teachers is a national concern. Approximately 50 percent of those entering teaching leave after five years. The attrition rate among academically talented teachers was disproportionate when compared with less academically talented teachers (Howey, Matthes, & Zimpher, 1985). Academically talented teachers leave the profession during the first five years with greater frequency than the less academically talented teachers. It is predicted that the recruitment and retention of teachers will be a major problem in the 1990's (Darling-Hammond, 1984; Imig, 1985). The recruitment and retention of teachers for rural settings is a major issue (Bailey & Scott, 1981; Thomas, 1980; Swift, 1984). The attrition rate among teachers in rural settings was reported to be 19% as opposed to only 9% among teachers from urban settings (Allfred & Smith, 1984). It was suggested in the same study that "...the rural

district has become the training ground for new teachers." (p. 5). However, what happens to teachers in rural settings who stay in the classrooms? What impact do the conditions identified by Muse and Stonehocker (1979) have on teachers? Is the level of career dissatisfaction greater among teachers in rural settings?

Studies reported some concern about the degree of satisfaction among teachers in general (Chapman & Lowther, 1982; Matthes & Duffy, 1987) and teachers in rural settings in particular (Haughey & Murphy, 1983; Rottier, Kelly, & Tomhave, 1983; Trentham & Schaer, 1985). It would appear that teachers in rural settings derived the greatest satisfaction from interactions with students (Haughey & Murphy, 1983; Kleinfeld & McDiarmid, 1986) and rapport with colleagues (Haughey & Murphy, 1983; Trentham & Schaer, 1985). Dissatisfaction among teachers in rural settings was attributed to administrative practices and society's perceptions of teachers (Haughey & Murphy, 1983; Rottier, Kelly, & Tomhave, 1983). Of particular interest is the dissatisfaction among male teachers in the 41-50 age group reported by Rottier, Kelly, and Tomhave (1983). They reported that male teachers expressed a higher level of dissatisfaction with teaching than female teachers. In an earlier study of teachers in general Chapman and Lowther (1982) also reported that male teachers expressed greater dissatisfaction than female teachers. This might be explained by what Kanter (1981) referred to as the "opportunity squeeze" in education and traditional

expectations of careers for males. As Kanter (1981) stated there simply are not enough opportunities for "advancement" in education. There are limited opportunities outside the classroom for educators. This coupled with the traditional belief in our society that the worth of a man is usually derived from the amount of "success" in his career (O'Neil, 1981) might explain the differences in career satisfaction reported for male and female teachers. It is difficult to determine from these studies of teachers in rural settings if there are any factors which differentiate them from teachers in general. In fact, those factors identified by teachers in rural settings as contributing to career dissatisfaction closely parallel those cited by teachers in general (Chapman & Lowther, 1982).

Matthes and Duffy (1987) in a study of career satisfaction among secondary school teachers controlled for the type of setting. It was reported that the degree of career satisfaction among teachers was directly related to the initial level of teacher preparation, M.A.T. versus B.A. degree, and the school setting; rural, urban, and suburban. Generally, teachers in rural settings with an M.A.T. degree indicated less satisfaction with factors related to opportunities to influence decisions and recognition than teachers with an M.A.T. degrees teaching in suburban schools. The pattern was reversed for those with initial preparation at the B.A./B.S. levels. It should be noted that neither the sex or the age of the teachers accounted for any differences on the dimensions of career

satisfaction in this study. Those teachers in rural settings with more extensive academic preparation were not as satisfied as their colleagues who taught in suburban schools. Those teachers with less extensive academic preparation were more satisfied in rural settings than teachers with similar academic preparation in suburban settings. It should be noted that the setting of the school or the initial level of academic preparation did not account for any differences on the dimension of salary and benefits. Teachers no matter what the setting were not satisfied with their salary or benefits! What is of particular interest was the level of dissatisfaction teachers in rural settings expressed about two frequently cited "intrinsic advantages of small schools" (Swift, 1984), the opportunity to impact decisions and support from the community. Teachers with an M.A.T. who taught in suburban settings indicated a greater degree of satisfaction on these two dimensions than teachers in rural settings with similar preparation. What accounts for these differences?

There are obvious limitations in each of the studies cited; however, one wonders if the conditions articulated by Sykes (1983) exist in schools located in rural settings. One might conclude that conditions in rural schools are <u>generally</u> not conducive to effective teaching and therefore effective schools. It might be asserted that rural people in general place a lower value on formal education than their urban counterparts and thus do not support the creation of conditions for teachers to practice their profession.

However, Lowe and Pinhey (1980) reported that this is not the case. They concluded that

> Rural people in general, or farm people in particular, do not-or perhaps no longer-place a lower value on formal education than do their urban counterparts. (p. 330)

It might be more accurate to conclude that our society in general does not support the creation of conditions for teachers to practice their profession. It is not an issue unique to rural settings. In our society Lortie (1975) stated "...real regard shown for those who taught has never matched the professed regard." (p. 10)

Conditions for Practice in Effective Schools

If teachers are essential to effective schools, no matter what the setting, than one needs to understand what motivates teachers. Policymakers, educators, and researchers have examined this issue from a variety of perspectives. Policymakers have proposed the creation of career ladders, differential staffing, and merit pay plans to attract the academically talented, retain qualified teachers, and to recognize outstanding teachers. These proposals continue to be generated (Bartell, 1987) in spite of research to the contrary (Rosenholtz, 1985; Sykes, 1987). Implicit in the analysis by Rosenholtz (1985) and Sykes (1987) was the recognition that the career ladder and similar schema are based on the predominate belief in autonomy and achievement. Women which comprise the majority of teachers ascribe more to the notions of attachment, intimacy, and collaboration (Gilligan,

1982). This perspective was summarized by Feiman-Nemser and Floden (1987)

> ...the study of teaching careers using male professionals and businessmen as templates has not done justice to teaching, an occupation dominated by women. The primary importance of career ambition and single-minded devotion may be appropriate for some occupations, but these characteristics need not be desirable in all teachers. For example, it could be advantageous for successful teachers to continue working in the classroom rather than aspiring to administrative work. (p. 523)

The values and beliefs represented in many of the proposals are in conflict with the research on teacher motivation. Lortie (1975) identified five reasons why an individual would elect to become a teacher. However, later research (Sykes, 1987; Yarger, Howey, & Joyce, 1977) indicated the primary reason was the desire to work with children. It is this desire to help others that motivates individuals to choose teaching as a career. This is the most significant incentive for individuals to teach. Those schools which create conditions around the development of teacher efficacy with children increase the probability of developing effective schools. It was a sense of teacher efficacy that McLaughlin and Marsh (1978) reported was "...the most powerful teacher attribute ..." in an analysis of over 400 federally supported experimental programs in schools. There was a strong positive relationship between the sense of efficacy among

teachers and project outcomes. It was this sense of efficacy that research suggested was directly related to student achievement (Ashton & Webb, 1986; Berman & McLaughlin, 1977; Brookover & Lezotte, 1979; Brophy & Evertson, 1977). There are conditions in schools which nurture this sense of efficacy. Sykes (1987) reported that schools which support and build a sense efficacy among teachers in elementary schools are characterized as

a. emphasizing goal setting and the development of what the school represents.
b. frequent discussions involving faculty and principal about instruction. There was frequent contact among teachers to discuss instruction which was facilitated by the principal.
c. teachers collaborate frequently through observations, development of materials, and planning. The intent of the collaboration was to give and receive help.
d. teachers learning opportunities are sought out within the norms of collegiality.
e. principals fostered openness and collaborative behavior. They involved the teachers in the planning process, provide evaluations, buffer teachers from intrusions, and delegate responsibilities.

It is within this context that Sykes (1987) reported that teachers

a. develop a sense of certainty in their ability to produce academic achievement in students.

b. develop a commitment to improving their skills as teachers.

c. recognize the need to respond to the individual differences among students.

d. believe that they have the capacity to teach even the most difficult students.

e. believe xcellence in teaching is tied directly to the attainment of specific academic achievements.

f. are more willing to challenge the system if a policy or practice conflicts with their professional judgement. They develop a sense of empowerment.

This summary of the yet unreported research of Rosenholtz provided by Sykes (1987) also indicated schools which nurture this sense of efficacy in teachers had lower rates of absenteeism and the students scored higher on standardized tests in the areas of reading and mathematics. Neither the size nor socio-economic status of the school were related to the creation of these conditions. It appears that it is possible to create conditions for teachers to develop a sense of self worth and efficacy while experiencing success. The fact that neither the size or socio-economic status of the school were related to these changes needs to be noted by educators in all settings; urban, suburban, and rural.

Although Sykes (1987) stressed the importance of this study and others like it (Lightfoot, 1983; Little, 1982) the need to examine the differences among elementary, middle, and secondary schools in different contexts was emphasized. Feiman-Nemser and Floden (1986) noted that the

> ...assumption that a uniform culture of teaching exists is now untenable. The recent work of Little (1982), Metz (1978), and Zeichner and Tabachnik (1983) repeatedly documents differences among cultures in different schools, and even differences among subgroups of teachers within a school (Metz, 1978; Parelius, 1980). (p. 523)

What is known about the conditions for professional practice in effective secondary schools in rural settings? Are there any common characteristics among these secondary schools? What differences exist in the "culture" of these effective secondary schools? There are a few descriptions of high schools in rural settings (Nachtigal, 1982; Perrone & Associates, 1985) but no real analysis such as those presented by Lightfoot (1983). Matthes (1987) used an interactive method based on the career history approach (LeCompte & Goetz, 1984) to determine the conditions for professional practice in four "effective" high schools located in rural settings. The four were selected from the 52 high schools in rural settings recognized as exemplary by the U.S. Office of Education (Research for Better Schools, 1986). These four high schools had the highest ratings on variables related to conditions for professional practice (e.g. collegiality, staff morale, staff influence) and represented

geographically and culturally different types of rural communities. A representative sample of teachers from each school was formally interviewed. The following observations of the conditions for professional practice in effective secondary schools located in rural settings are based on 65 interviews of teachers, numerous informal conversations, observations, and review of selected documents at each school:

a. The teachers perceived the school as an integral part of the community: The teachers envisioned schools as serving the community and not the schools serving the teachers. For example, the teachers developed academic programs around the needs of community or provided a direct service. At one school the drafting class redesigned office space for a local business while at another the teachers developed a day care center to teach child care skills. There was a sense of reciprocity which had evolved between the teachers and the community. Contributions of the teachers to the communities were recognized.

b. The teachers perceived their efforts as transcending the immediate: The teachers had a sense of mission. One principal conceived of the classroom as "a pulpit" while a science teacher at the same school claimed when asked why he taught "...everyone [teachers] wants a piece of immorality...". Another science teacher

with some frustration stated "...teaching is not a job it is a life..."

c. Expectations for students and teachers are clear: There was a seriousness of purpose that evolved from collaborative efforts nurtured by the principals. The academic intent of the schools was clear to the students and teachers. Students recognized their "job" was to learn. Teachers were the bosses and students recognized that they need to "...impress the people you work for..." As a drama teacher stated, her job was to "...make sure kids do what they are suppose to do at all cost..."

d. Achievements of teachers and students were recognized: The academic achievements were systematically recognized in the schools through ceremonies, symbols, and rituals. Teachers took pride in their achievements as well as those of colleagues and students.

e. Teachers had a sense of empowerment: The teachers were involved in continuous discussion of curriculum, instruction, and management. The teachers expressed a sense of responsibility for involvement in decisions that would affect the school and openly challenged the principals. With new principals there were subtle attempts to orient them to the ways of the faculty. The

teachers had a sense of empowerment drawn from professional knowledge and personal commitment.

f. Teachers had a sense of self worth and efficacy: The teachers believed they possessed unique knowledge and skills. They believed that it was possible for every student to learn and structured the classrooms to actively engage the students in learning. What occurred in the classroom was important. The classrooms were free from outside intrusion.

g. Teachers were committed to professional growth: The teachers actively sought out professional development opportunities. Such efforts were supported by colleagues, the administration, and school board policies.

h. Teachers demonstrated entrepreneurial skills: There were numerous examples of teachers developing resources within the community to support academic programs. A business teacher worked closely with a local computer store to secure micro-computers for the students enrolled in business classes while a shop teachers allowed local cabinet makers and carpenters to buy time on a large wood planer to pay for the cost of the machine. The teachers constantly sought ways to raise additional funds to support instructional programs.

Although there were differences in the nature and culture of the communities and schools these were common

characteristics which emerged from the exemplary rural high schools visited. Some of these characteristics are similar to those identified in the effective school literature; however, the commitment to the community, the sense of place in time, the strong sense of empowerment, and the entrepreneurial nature of these teachers were unique. The teachers had a strong investment in teaching and their communities. Teaching was not just a job but a way of life.

Conditions for Professional Practice: Conclusions

Although the effective schools literature frequently ignores the "cultural" dimensions of teaching (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Rosenholtz, 1987) and there is a paucity of research which incorporated the concept of setting; rural, urban, or suburban the following are some tentative conclusions about the conditions for professional practice in effective schools:

* Effective schools nurture a sense of collaboration among the teachers: Collaboration in instruction, planning, and management is an integral aspect of effective schools. There were deliberate efforts to break down the "cellular" nature of schools (Lortie, 1975) which breeds isolation and alienation among teachers. Time was made available to teachers to work in a collaborative mode. Collaborative efforts fostered a sense of community within the school.

* Teachers demonstrated a sense of efficacy, self worth, and empowerment:

  The belief in the teachers'ability to teach students was articulated and reinforced in the schools. The unique skills and knowledge of teachers as professionals were recognized by the administration, school board, and community. The contributions of teachers were valued. Teachers were involved in the decision-making process. This involvement was not something which was negotiated but grew out of a recognition that teachers have an expertise and those who will be affected by a decision should be involved in the process.

* Academic achievement was valued and recognized: The primary incentive for teachers was to stimulate academic achievement in students. A school that publicly recognized the academic achievements of students through ceremonies, rituals, and symbols communicated to teachers that their efforts in the classroom are valued. Such efforts build upon the primary incentive for teachers--the teaching of students.

* Teachers are involved in professional growth activities: A sense of collegiality which supported continuous professional growth among the teachers was fostered. The norms of giving and receiving help existed within effective schools. There was a balance between opportunities for individual growth

(e.g. funds to support graduate education or participation in a workshop) and those most directly related to programmatic change in the school.

* Teachers demonstrated a commitment to the community which transcended the immediate: This concept was more pronounced in rural communities; however, one gets the sense that teachers in effective schools recognized the importance of education to communities and students in particular. It was more than what Lortie (1975) identified as a service commitment. Teachers viewed the classroom as a way to improve conditions for students and the community.

SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS AND THE TEACHER: TRENDS

The school effectiveness literature has implications for creating conditions for teachers which will end what Corrigan (1984) referred to as "...a spiral toward futility" for teachers (p. 17). However, there are conditions in the schools and the context of rural settings which challenge policy-makers and educators to develop creative responses. Classrooms, especially in high school, are impervious to change according to Cuban (1984). The reasons for this resistance to change in classrooms can be attributed to a variety of different sources but the reality is that teachers have limited control over what occurs in their classrooms (Cuban, 1984; Lieberman & Miller, 1978). The very structure of the educational system create conditions which are not conducive to change in instructional practices. This inherent resistance to change in instructional practices is made complex

by economic forces in rural settings. Harl (1985) examined the implications of the "economic trauma" in agriculture which will affect education in rural settings. Resources for initiating school reform in rural settings will be limited in the near future. It is this economic context coupled with the inherent resistance in the education system to change in the classroom which will challenge policy-makers and educators attempts to achieve educational reform in rural settings. The trends related to the concept of effective schools are presented in three sections: preparation and certification of educators; conditions for professional practice; and research.

Preparation and Certification of Educators:

CONTEXT: In the past two years four national reports were issued which focused on reform in teacher education. The initial report, A Call for Change in Teacher Education (National Commission for Excellence in Teacher Education, 1985) was followed by the report, Tomorrow's Teachers (Holmes Group, 1986); then, A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century (Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, 1986) and finally, Time for Results, (National Governors' Association, 1986). Implicit in these reports is the belief that the preparation of teachers needs to be structured around graduate education. It is asserted that graduate preparation will provide the basis for attainment of "professional status." This "professional status" is essential to the recruitment and retention of academically talented teachers.

As institutions of higher education consider the recommendations of the national reports new standards for the certification of educational personnel are being developed by various states. The most common change in the certification of educators involves the use of tests. Sandefur (1984) reported, by July, 1984, 32 states required some form of competency test for teachers. The American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association now support testing as one aspect of comprehensive teacher evaluation programs (Higher Education Daily, January 30, 1985).

Within this context numerous recommendations are being put forth for the preparation of educators for rural settings (Barker & Beckner, 1987; Gardener & Edington, 1983; Guenther & Weible, 1983; Horn, 1985; Jones, 1986). They assert that teaching in rural settings requires different preparation and experiences. However, Horn, Davis, and Hilt (1985) concluded from a survey of teachers in small and rural schools that there was "...little justification for eliminating elements of current teacher education programs." (p. 29). In fact, when the results of this study are compared with those of a comprehensive review of perceived problems of first year teachers (Veerman, 1984) the similarities are quite striking. Those areas of preparation perceived as important in the Horn, Davis, and Hilt (1986) for success in small schools are quite similar to those reported by Veerman (1984) for teachers in general.

TREND: Teacher education programs at major institutions of higher education will be extended requiring extensive supervised clinical experience and greater academic specialization.

Horn (1985) captured the implications of this trend for educators in rural settings in the following:

> ...programs for rural teachers will not be developed because they will not match accreditation standards and, due to the move to greater specialization and extended programs [teacher education programs], fewer teachers will be able to obtain multiple teaching endorsements and/take college work that will better prepare them to work and live in a rural community. (p. 23).

Teacher education programs focus primarily upon behavior in the classroom and seldom consider the organizational, professional, or community constraints that might influence the classroom. Teacher education ignores the very elements which shape the "culture of teaching" in schools (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986).

TREND: Schools will have to design induction and staff development programs which will systematically prepare teachers to function in effective schools.

Teacher education programs lack conceptual and programmatic coherence and fail to incorporate validated instructional practices (Howey, Matthes, & Zimpher, 1985). Institutions of higher education have historically stressed

autonomy, achievement and competition among students which is incongruent with the behaviors teachers in effective schools demonstrate. It is a paradox that preparation programs which articulate a commitment to knowledge to guide practice fail to prepare teachers to demonstrate the knowledge and skills essential to function in effective schools. With the increased pressure for institutions of higher education to prepare teachers in the academic subjects schools will be expected to teach teachers the behaviors and skills necessary to function in effective schools. A more developmental approach to teacher education will need to be assumed. One can no longer assume teacher education ends at graduation.

Teacher preparation must be viewed as continuous and developmental in nature. The context in which the teacher functions will stimulate the need for a systematic staff development program.

TREND: Principals will continue to be prepared primarily as managers and not instructional leaders.

Implicit in the recent recommendations for reform in education and the school effectiveness literature is a need to change the preparation of building administrators. At the present time building administrators are prepared to function more as managers. The present expectations are for administrators to manage in spite of personal desires (Alvy & Coladaric, 1985) or what is known about the principal and the achievement of school effectiveness (Lane & Walberg,

1987). Novice principals were reported to have the most difficulty with providing instructional leadership (Alvy & Coladaric, 1985) and in reality only half of the elementary principals are reported to assist teachers with instruction (Leithwood & Montgomery, 1982). One hypothesis suggests that the more distant from the classroom in time and responsibilities the less likely the principal will provide the essential supervision of instruction to achieve school effectiveness. As Chamberlain and Goldsberry (1984) stated

> Rural schools suffer under many burdens. Unable to employ full time individuals due to financial constraints or given the limitations of rather low population density over a wide area, the prospect for improving instructional practices through direct supervision seems bleak. (p. 131)

The need for instructional leadership is clear but principals, especially in rural settings, are confronted with a multiplicity of time demands that are more immediate (Alvy & Coladarci, 1985). Instructional leadership by necessity becomes a low priority and in the end is neglected. Chamberlain and Goldsberry (1984) suggested the supervision of teachers in rural settings might have to be done by peers if it is done.

Conditions for Professional Practice:

CONTEXT: The conditions for professional practice are not ignored by those concerned about reform in education (Carnegie Forum on Education and Economy, 1986; Holmes Group, 1986). However, some of the policies for changing the conditions

for teachers have received sharp criticism (Rosenholtz, 1985) which is summarized by Feiman-Nemser and Floden (1986) in the following statement:

> ...recent policy initiatives to address the absence of rewards in teaching may be misguided in their exclusive focus on increases in merit pay and opportunities for career advancement. These solutions assume that teachers place most value on the extrinsic rewards of money and power. In fact, teachers may value increased opportunities for collegial interaction or job sharing. The point is to offer an array of rewards that will meet teachers' needs. (p. 523)

Although the need to improve the financial rewards for teachers is important one needs to recognize that effective schools create conditions that go beyond the extrinsic rewards. If reform is to occur than conditions need to be created in the school that nurture change in instructional practices.

TREND: <u>Public policy will continue to use, at the local and state levels, extrinsic rewards to improve the conditions for professional practice in the schools</u>.

Policy-makers and educators will continue to apply the concepts of merit pay, differential staffing, and career ladders in an attempt to improve the conditions for professional practice in the schools. The intent of many of these policies is to improve the financial rewards for

educators and to create opportunities for teachers to assume more leadership roles. Given the limited funds available schools in rural settings will be placed at a disadvantage in the recruitment and retention of teachers. However, it is unclear if these efforts to improve the extrinsic rewards will directly impact instructional practices which is essential if school effectiveness is to be achieved. Whether removing "outstanding" teachers from the classrooms to assume expanded responsibilities seems to be questionable public policy if the intent is to improve instruction. Public policy should ensure "outstanding" teachers remain in the classroom. Public policy should foster the conditions of collegiality, collaboration, and a sense of efficacy among teachers while ensuring appropriate financial rewards for teachers.

TREND: Teachers will be more involved in decisions concerning the curriculum, instruction, and management of local schools.

The significance of involving teachers in the decision making process was clearly demonstrated in the staff development (McLaughlin & Marsh, 1978) and school effectiveness literature. Schools will need to structured to create time for these activities. To expect teachers to assume additional responsibilities without relief may only add to the existing burden of teachers (Ducharme & Matthes, 1987). The empowerment of teachers will enhance their sense of efficacy which will directly affect personal development and classroom instruction (Ashton & Webb, 1986).

TREND: Rural and small schools will continue to form consortiums for instructional and staff development needs.

There will always be a need to provide education opportunities to residents of sparsely populated areas in this nation. Given the limited resources more cooperative arrangements will be made to deliver direct instruction to the students and provide staff development opportunities for the teachers. These consortiums will provide to local schools or attendance centers assistance to teachers in the areas of curriculum and instruction. Such arrangements are essential to remove the professional isolation teachers experience in rural settings and foster collegiality and cooperation. Successful consortiums will incorporate some of the concepts of the "teacher centers" movement.

TREND: Technology will impact the conditions for professional practice in schools.

The National Governors' Association Task Force on Technology (Sununu, 1986) envisioned technology as an integral part of school reform. Of particular interest was the use of interactive telecommunication systems to deliver a wide variety of educational programs. Joe Newlin, Executive Director, National Rural Education Association, claimed that interactive telecommunication systems are

> ...the breakthrough we've been looking for to offset the lack of curriculum opportunities that rural schools have been faced with because of scarce resources (Brown, 1985, p. 1).

Alaska has used technology extensively to deliver educational programs to remote villages. The use of technology has implications for teachers. Teachers will need time to plan how best to utilize these systems in instructional programs. Technology will demand more careful planning and teachers may become more "managers" of educational experiences. Whether interactive telecommunication systems are a 'boom or bust' is dependent on the teacher. Whether it enhances the instructional program of a schools will be determined by the teacher. Technology has the potential to stimulate teachers or merely become another burden.

Research:

CONTEXT: To give emphasis to the concerns expressed earlier (Helge, 1986; Stephens, 1985) about the lack of research on effective schools in rural settings one needs to only read the following statement by Good & Brophy (1986)

> ...most effective schools research has been conducted in urban schools, so its application to suburban schools is unknown. (p. 598)

The application to schools in rural settings is simply ignored. There is not a coherent body of knowledge which focuses upon the characteristics of effective schools in rural settings. Although the literature is full of assertions about the quality of education in rural settings there are no studies which allow comparative statements to be made about schools. Stephens (1985) identified numerous reasons for the lack of research in rural education but that does not alleviate the difficulty in

predicting trends with any degree of certainty. The following are quite tentative predictions:

TREND: School effectiveness research will incorporate more of an ethnographic perspective.

An ethnographic research paradigm will be used with increased frequency to understand effective schools. Examples of this can be seen in Cohen's (1983) reference to "faculty norms and school ethos" while Feiman-Nemser and Floden discussed the "the cultures of teaching." Behavioral psychology has dominated the research on school effectiveness, in part, because of the difficulties inherent in ethnographic approaches. Ethnographic approaches require more time and present difficulties in making inferences from the observations. However, the initial efforts in the application of ethnographic approaches to education clearly indicate that there are cultural dimensions (e.g. norms, values, rituals, ceremonies) which account for differences among schools and classrooms. The ethnographic approaches will provide "clinical insights" into effective schools that might better shape the research questions and procedures of the more structured behavioral approaches. Schools in rural settings, because of their relative isolation and hetereogeneity, provide excellent subjects for the application of the ethnographic research paradigm. Through the application of the ethnographic approach we might glean some insight into effective schools which could shape public policy and school improvement efforts.

THEME: The conditions for professional practice in schools will become a major theme in the school effectiveness research.

The purpose of schools is to provide educational opportunities to students no matter what the setting; urban, suburban, or rural. The realization that the classroom contributes directly to that purpose (Cohen, 1983) will stimulate research to consider how instructional practices can be changed. The school effectiveness literature provides some insight into the conditions in the school that impact the domain of the teacher, the classroom. There is a direct relationship among the conditions that nurture collegiality, collaboration, and efficacy among teachers and classroom instruction. There are organizational and contextual elements which may contribute directly to the conditions for professional practice. However, the differences among elementary, middle and secondary schools in different contexts need to be examined. The contribution of these latter elements to the development of conditions for professional practice is not known.

SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS AND THE TEACHER: SUMMARY

It is asserted in this paper that teachers confront conditions in schools which have a direct impact on classroom instruction. These conditions are directly related to attrition among teachers, the 'burnout' among teachers, or the achievement of school reform. A review of the literature on school effectiveness identified a number of conditions which are directly related instructional effectiveness. These conditions empower teachers thus, generating a sense of efficacy and self worth among teachers. These conditions ensure teacher commitment and professional development.

In addition, a number of trends in teacher education, conditions in the schools, and research were identified in the paper. It is apparent that the policy-makers and educators have recognized the importance creating conditions for professional practice; however, there is some uncertainty about the most appropriate response to the issue. The responses will either contribute to the teacher's "spiral of futility" (Corrigan, 1984) and relegate teachers to the "...shadowed social standing..." (Lortie, 1975) or create conditions for teachers to function as empowered professionals.

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